

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-16

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03

SS-20 USIA-15 EB-11 COME-00 AGR-20 PC-10 INT-08 CU-04

DOT-00 SIL-01 LAB-06 SAM-01 SAB-01 IO-14 AID-20

DRC-01 /213 W

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R 050602Z JUN 74

FM AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9835

INFO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

USINT DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY DOHA

AMCONSUL DHAHRAN

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MANAMA

AMEMBASSY MUSCAT

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 KUWAIT 2302

BEIRUT ALSO POUCH BAGHDAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, BA, MU, TC, QA

SUBJECT: GULF SWAN SONG: AMBASSADOR'S FAREWELL TRIP TO LOWER  
PERSIAN GULF

SUMMARY: FOLLOWING ARE MY OBSERVATIONS DURING FAREWELL CALLS  
ON GULF STATES: UAE - FEDERATION APPEARS TO BE DEVELOPING SATIS-  
FACTORILY, WITH ABU DHABI OVERWHELMINGLY THE MOST IMPORTANT

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STATE AND SHAIKH ZAYID AN INCREASINGLY ACTIVE RULER. OMAN -  
PRIMARY CONCERN IS SULTAN HIMSELF WHO TENDS TO AVOID CONTACT

WITH HIS PEOPLE. HOWEVER, PACE OF DEVELOPMENT IS QUICKENING, DHOFAR WAR IS GOING WELL, AND US RELATIONS WITH OMAN ARE WELL LAUCHED. BAHRAIN - THERE IS SOME UNCERTAINTY AS TO EFFECT OF NEW NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND LABOR MOVEMENT ON BAHRAIN'S POLITICAL SITUATION. ASTUTE BAHRAIN FONMIN BELIEVES SEVERAL GULF POLITICAL ISSUES NEED TO BE RESOLVED SOON TO MAINTAIN GULF STABILITY. QATAR - PROSPECTS FOR STABILITY ARE GOOD, BUT RULER HAS CAUSED CONCERN IN BAHRAIN RE POSSIBLE QATARI CLAIM TO HUWAR ISLAND WITH RENEWED DECLARATION OF QATARI SOVEREIGNTY OVER OFF SHORE AREAS ADJACENT TO ITS COASTS. THROUGHOUT THE AREA THERE IS UNIVERSAL RELIEF, GRATITUDE AND ENTHUSIASM FOR SECRETARY'S SUCCESSFUL EFFORTS ON MIDEAST PROBLEM. END SUMMARY.

1. I PAID MY FAREWELL CALLS TO UAE, OMAN AND BAHRAIN BETWEEN MAY 22 AND JUNE 3. (I SAID GOODBYE TO SHAIKH KHALIFA OF QATAR ON PREVIOUS TRIP IN APRIL). FOLLOWING ARE MAIN OBSERVATIONS ON THIS MY LAST TRIP AS AMBASSADOR TO LOWER GULF STATES.

2. UAE. UNITY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE FEDERATION IS PRIME SUBJECT IN UAE THESE DAYS. THERE ARE MANY - LOCAL CITIZENS AND FOREIGNERS - WHO ARE SKEPTICAL THAT FEDERATION WILL SUCCEED, BUT TO ME MERE FACT SUBJECT BEING DISCUSSED SO SERIOUSLY IS GIANT STEP FORWARD OVER TWO YEARS AGO. TO DOUBTERS I SAID MOST AMERICANS WOULD NOT FIND IT STRANGE THAT UAE STATES NOT COOPERATING FULLY TOGETHER ONLY TWO YEARS AFTER COUNTRY'S BIRTH. IN FACT UAE LUCKY. US STARTED WITH 13 QUARRELING COLONIES; UAE ONLY HAS SEVEN.

3. UAE PRESIDENT SHAIKH ZAYID HAS GROWN GREATLY IN WISDOM AND STATURE OVER PAST SEVERAL YEARS AS WELL. HE IS STAYING AT HOME MORE AND HAS JUST COMPLETED THOROUGH TOUR OF WHOLE COUNTRY. HIS DISPENSING OF LARGESSE EVERYWHERE HAS NETTLED INDEPENDENT-MINDED AND WELL-TO-DO FELLOW RULERS LIKE RASHID OF DUBAI, BUT NO ONE NEED DOUBT ZAYID'S DETERMINATION TO SHOW WHO IS UAE'S NUMBER ONE CITIZEN. IT IS WELL, TOO, TO KEEP IN MIND ABU DHABI'S DOMINANT POSITION IN UAE. TO ILLUSTRATE, FEDERAL BUDGET IS ABOUT 200 MILLION DOLLARS, WHILE ABU DHABI INCOME NEXT YEAR WILL BE ON ORDER OF FOUR BILLION RPT BILLION DOLLARS.

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4. AT FAREWELL DINNER FOR ME ZAYID PRAISED SECRETARY KISSINGER'S INCREDIBLE ACHIEVEMENTS, AND NICE WORDS TO SAY ABOUT AMERICAN EMBASSY ABU DHABI AND MADE VERY CLEAR HE WANTED CLOSEST AND EXPANDING RELATIONS WITH US. AMONG MANY SIGNS HIS INCREASING MATURITY AS LEADER HE SAID "WE SMALL STATES IN GULF, SQUEEZED BETWEEN BIG ONES - IRAN, SAUDI ARABIA AND IRAQ - ARE NEVER GOING TO AMOUNT TO ANYTHING IF WE DON'T GET TOGETHER, FROM KUWAIT TO OMAN."

5. UAE IS BOOMING, WITH SHARJA THE LATEST STATE TASTE JOYS OF

BURGEONING OIL INCOME. SEVERAL STATES HAVE THEIR EYE ON  
TOURISM AND PROSPECTS ARE EXCELLENT. SOME OF BEST STILL  
UNDEVELOPED BEACHES IN WORLD ARE IN UAE.

6. OMAN. PRIMARY CONCERN IN OMAN AMONG EXPERIENCED OBSERVERS OF  
LOCAL SCENE IS SULTAN QABUS HIMSELF. HIS INTELLIGENCE IS  
UNQUESTIONED AND HE HAS AN UNDOUBTED INSTINCT FOR RULERSHIP.  
NEVERTHELESS HIS INCLINATION TO RETREAT TO HIS ELECTRONIC  
GADGETS AND DRAG-RACE CARTS IS DISCONCERTING. HE IS AWARE OF  
THE NEED TO BE MORE IN PERSONAL CONTACT WITH HIS PEOPLE.  
YET HE RECOILS FROM THE TOUCH OF THE MASSES, PREFERING TO  
ADMINISTER AND DEAL THROUGH GROUP OF PALACE FAVORITES WHICH  
BRITISH AMBASSADOR HAWLEY LIKES TO CALL SULTAN'S "SHADOWY  
CABINET". THEY ARRANGE HIS LIFE FOR HIM THE WAY HE LIKES TO  
LEAD IT AND, IN RETURN, HE LEAVES THEM TO DEAL WITH THE WORLD  
AT LARGE. OMAN HAS ALWAYS BEEN KNOWN AS A COUNTRY WHERE EVERY-  
THING MOVES SLOWLY. BUT PACE OF DEVELOPMENT AND EVENTS IS  
QUICKENING EVEN IN OMAN, AND SULTAN'S POSITION IS FAR FROM  
INVULNERABLE.

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BEIRUT ALSO POUCH BAGHDAD

7. IN MEANTIME DHOFAR WAR IS GOING WELL, ARAB LEAGUE IS SOMEWHAT INEFFECTUALLY BUT SERIOUSLY WRESTLING WITH DHOFAR PROBLEM, AND SULTAN HAS SKILLFULLY MANAGED TO PLACE MAIN ONUS FOR PROBLEM ON PDRY, EVEN WITHIN LEAGUE'S CONCILIATION COMMISSION WHICH IS HEAVILY LACED WITH "PROGRESSIVE" ARAB STATES.

8. IT IS GRATIFYING TO SEE AMERICANS MANAGING THE BRAND NEW AND MODERN SEAPORT AT MATRAH, US COMPANIES IN AGRICULTURE, FISHERIES AND AVIATION, PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS IN KEY LOCALITIES IN THE INTERIOR, AND AMERICAN EFFORTS IN INSTITUTION-  
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BUILDING THROUGH ACTIVITIES AND ADVICE OF US FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM, FEDERAL HIGHWAY ADMINISTRATION AND US GEOLOGICAL SURVEY AND SCHOLARSHIPS. IN SHORT, US RELATIONS WITH OMAN ARE DIVERSIFIED AND WELL LAUNCHED.

9. BAHRAIN, IT APPEARS OUR NAVY IS SKATING ON THIN ICE IN BAHRAIN AT MOMENT (SEE SEPTEL). IN GENERAL, THERE ARE VARYING ASSESSMENTS REGARDING THREAT TO TRADITIONAL STABILITY AND WAY OF LIFE ON BAHRAIN FROM NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND PERIODIC RESTLESSNESS IN BAHRAIN'S LABOR RANKS, BUT NEW TRENDS ARE DISCERNIBLE AND THE ISLAND IS PERCOLATING POLITICALLY.

10. I ASKED FONMIN NUHAMED MUBARAK IF ONE OF SIDE EFFECTS OF MOVEMENT TOWARD SETTLEMENT OF ARAB-ISRAELI DISPUTE WAS NOT LIKELY TO BE QUICKENING OF THE POLITICAL PACE IN THE GULF AND NEW PRESSURES ON AREA STABILITY. MUHAMED REPLIED THAT ASIDE FROM BIG POWER ACTIVITY, ANSWER DEPENDED ON ACTIONS AND INTENTIONS OF LARGER ARAB STATES IN GENERAL AND IRAQ IN PARTICULAR. UNTIL IRAQ SORTED ITSELF OUT WITH ITS SOUTHERN ARAB NEIGHBORS, THERE WOULD ALWAYS BE THE THREAT OF TROUBLE. IN PARTICULAR, FOUR ISSUES, HE SAID, NEEDED TO BE RESOLVED: TERMINATION OF DHOFAR REBELLION, IMPROVEMENT OF IRAQI-SAUDI RELATIONS, DEMARCATION OF IRAQI-KUWAITI FRONTIER, AND RESOLUTION OF SAUDI-ABU DHABI BORDER PROBLEM. MUHAMED SAID HE BELIEVED THESE PROBLEMS COULD BE SETTLED WITH THE HELP OF INFLUENTIAL ARAB STATES INCLUDING EGYPT AND SYRIA. AND SINCE GOVERNMENTS OF GULF AND PENINSULA HAD SUPPORTED ARAB CONFRONTATION STATES DURING THEIR HOUR OF NEED, IT WAS RESPONSIBILITY

OF LATTER IN TURN TO COOPERATE IN HELPING COUNTRIES IN THIS AREA SOLVE THEIR DIFFICULTIES TOO. OF COURSE, ADDED MUHAMED, IF BIGGER ARAB STATES RESORTED TO SUBVERSION AND EFFORTS CARVE OUT THEIR OWN AREAS OF INFLUENCE AS IN THE PAST, GULF COULD BE IN FOR BAD PERIOD OF ITS HISTORY.

11. QATAR. SHAIKH KHALIFA RUNS A TAUT SHIP, AND PROSPECTS FOR STABILITY IN QATAR SEEM GOOD DESPITE RECURRING REPORTS THAT MEMBERS OF HIS FAMILY ARE PLOTTING AGAINST HIM. HE TAKES FREQUENT OCCASION TO ESPOUSE UNITY AMONG ALL STATES OF THE GULF BUT HE IS NOT ABOVE TWISTING HIS NEIGHBORS' TAILS. MOST RECENTLY HE HAS DECLARED ABSOLUTE QATARI SOVEREIGNTY OVER AREAS ADJACENT TO ITS COAST AND ISLANDS (KUWAIT 2264), A MOVE WHICH HAS  
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REACTIVIATED ALWAY-PRESENT BAHRAIN SENSITIVITY OVER SUSPECTED QATARI DESIGNS ON HUWAR ISLAND.

12. LAST BUT NOT LEAST, I FOUND RELIEF, GRATITUDE AND ENTHUSIASM THROUGHOUT GULF FOR SECRETARY'S SUCCESSFUL EFFORTS ON MIDEAST PROBLEM. ARABS IN GULF FIND IT DIFFICULT TO FATHOM WILLINGNESS OF AMERICAN SECRETARY OF STATE TO GO TO LENGTHS HE DID TO FOSTER SETTLEMENT THEY ALL WAITING FOR THESE MANY YEARS. BUT ADMIRATION FOR HIS DETERMINATION ACHIEVE HIS OBJECTIVE IS UNIVERSAL.  
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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PERSONAL OPINION, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, FOREIGN RELATIONS, FOREIGN INVESTMENT, PERSONNEL MOVEMENTS, POLITICAL SITUATION, BOUNDARY CLAIMS, DHOFAR WAR  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 05 JUN 1974  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** cunninfx  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1974KUWAIT02302  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D740142-0765  
**From:** KUWAIT  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
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**Legacy Key:** link1974/newtext/t19740674/aaaacikw.tel  
**Line Count:** 253  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION NEA  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** cunninfx  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 30 APR 2002  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <30 APR 2002 by elyme>; APPROVED <20 FEB 2003 by cunninfx>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** GULF SWAN SONG: AMBASSADOR'S FAREWELL TRIP TO LOWER PERSIAN GULF  
**TAGS:** PFOR, BA, MU, TC, QA, US, (ZAYID, SHAIKH)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005